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or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people, who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[16] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[16] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[10], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[10] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συλλίτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community. They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual. The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

After the barber has completed his task, two or three of the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth. The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σύβιασμα).

178 It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (κέρασμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 178 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected in the same manner. But in place of the single representative the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the home of the bride's family where they are entertained with feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of commensality between future affines. At the moment of betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted. Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and generally the result of these celebrations is that relations between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

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584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible purpose of this manœuvre was to protect the reputation and sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man [627] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour. [114] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a ● 178 bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret.

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction.

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told

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for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. The sanction However reluctant a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

There are two other circumstances which may help to persuade a father to cede his position at the customary time. Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country. The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son — Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business papers and account books are kept has become in recent years a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a father to hand over executive control much earlier than custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the father's position and difficulties. During the last years of a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the family, they guard most carefully against any public expression of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts, and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old people in the community. They are respected if they have led honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

554 58 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 198 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
a Zagori

a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep.

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred.

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters.

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones.

[354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 "You should have seen the weddings when I
● 178 was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and field-work among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B] drop: ages

/ix cont./

121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social 121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals: 122 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

/xii/ /blank/

/1/

Introduction

121 198 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece: the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence; as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
129 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
22 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

412 /36/
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[178] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling
419 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178]
[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 53 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). A Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

071 For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

A. [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 178 [171] apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118 7

Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the [513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)
[113]

17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
562 And thought well of in the entire world...
583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
(516) custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
(178) but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(378) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

197 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(254) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/164 cont./

596 594 554 [584] Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] [178] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 606 554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society. However, in case of damage, [434] [432] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 576 198 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
177
[188] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
627 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[198] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/253 cont./

different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon, there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in the great creative force which dominates the world and which is personified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity. It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, Β', 80, 20, 5' et 6, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἑκλογαὶ κανόνων διαφόρων ἐκδόσεων, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 340, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

Ηερωδίας I, 914, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Ὁ Δαναΐδες τῶν Πανιπόδιον, 6, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ :

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, 1, 547 f.

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[198]

These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the
796
536 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first
[533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special
[535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[191] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237] [832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible]

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 585 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.

[178] [785] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches, aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

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/285 cont./

in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p: 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

[178]

787 . Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulderblade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

791 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] 791 [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/328 cont./

796 533 [532] [470] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tseligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΚΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΑΚΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 151 sqq.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.pE3

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

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up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus, psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear, especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 989 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 533 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the 585 [531] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in [535] [538]

/366 cont./

789 533 586 (539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53 789

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

(648)

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533 [233] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531 532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 532 114 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

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531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

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53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully - the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

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53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the [237] eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a [783] church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought [718] commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

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/376/ PART FOUR

REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121 After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

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508 245 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization," according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. [626] The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates [177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

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S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 G 175 548 122 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

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region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

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The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

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The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

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181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

198 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 198 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

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121 human being.

Nevertheless, the means at the disposal of contemporary man by our urbanized and technicized civilization for /413/ an improvemnt of his condition also bear bitter fruits. The price of comfort and well-being is too often agony, insecurity, dehumanization of work, constant dissatisfaction, the rupture of ties between men, solitude, social injustice.

When one considers slums and shanty towns, when one consults the statistics dealing with certain diseases (neurosis and psychosis), prostitution or criminality, in countries in the process of rapid development, the picture takes on a disquieting glare.

Then, comparisons become inevitable. We are surely not advocates of the myth of the "noble savage" nor of maxims recommending "the return to nature." And we have no illusions about the condition of the Sarakatsani. However, one fact is certain: among them the phenomena of social pathology are unknown.

Thus, change among our herders, rapid and without any preparation that could lessen the brutality of the shock, fills us with great disquiet.

However, it is quite necessary to recognize and perhaps accept it: progress presupposes "human cost." "History," once the threshold of "tradition" is crossed, flounders but advances on muddy ground, drenched with sweat and, in some cases, with the blood of "human beings," the heirs of Prometheus.

/pp. 413-424 of foreign text not translated/